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The writer, a member of the Chicago Board of Education, accuses the board of deliberately imposing conditions and policies which have served to keep the two races in the school system apart and to discriminate against large segments of the racial minority. He holds that there is a clear necessity to demonstrate this board's sincerity by immediate, affirmative action. Time and energies need to be used in this public service before conditions get worse and the patience of the victims runs out. Under the system of public board responsibility in running the schools, most of the race relations issues in Chicago's educational complex could be settled by action of the board members. The board should make a new start by arranging a conference with all concerned to resolve the crisis with cooperation and good will. Written during the time of a school boycott (February 1964), the article concludes that demonstrations and school boycotts are a direct reaction to our failure and laggardness to meet the issue squarely.

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never get off the ground. It is difficult to see any school board getting the large sums necessary from its current revenue sources. The logical answer seems to be sizeable Federal grants-in-aid for education just as already exist in every other major area of state and local expenditure.

In highlighting some of the major contributions of a work, the reviewer must neglect others. The work, however, provides a working knowledge on such topics as the causes and techniques of school segregation, the harmful effects of segregation, administrative and legal methods of bringing about desegregation, and a review of existing programs for compensatory education. Both the technical literature and current projects are reviewed in a style that is at once succinct and informed.

The work ends with a very important insight. The transition from a largely segregated school system to an integrated system "is a task which calls for a high order of leadership." This leadership can best be given by men who appreciate the value of integrated education for all children. Often, "educational leadership for integration is withheld because school authorities are timid or because they share the values of those who would maintain segregated schools." The sincere integrationist administrator will encounter opposition from the defenders of the segregated *status quo*. If the administrator does not get cold feet and still wants to overcome this opposition, he has allies and leadership resources in the insistence of the civil rights movement and new thinking among many whites who have been shaken by this insistence. (U.S. Commissioner of Education Frances Keppel recently told the nation's school administrators: "Thank God for the civil rights movement.")

The report's own words will summarize the broad socio-political conditions that have made school integration so important:

> The over-all developments here described appear to warrant several inferences. First, the segregated school structure will remain intact unless civic groups strongly insist that it be changed. Second, the Negro people and their allies will continue, with increasing vigor, to demand school desegregation. Third, their demand will usually encounter resistance, resulting in some degree of social conflict. Fourth, unless corrective measures are undertaken without undue delay, such conflict will develop into intense community turmoil and strife. Finally, either through timely and constructive approaches or through protracted and bitter struggle, Northern public schools will be desegregated.

Stop now and write for the book. Enclose $1.00 to: NAIRO Commission on School Integration, 6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, New York.

CHICAGO'S SCHOOL CRISIS

Raymond W. Pasnick

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The writer, member of the Chicago board of education, is editor of Steel Labor, organ of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO. Following is the complete text of his statement to the Chicago school board on February 26, 1964, the day after Chicago's second school boycott in which 172,000 students were absent in protest against segregation.

Chicago is plagued with the travail of racial unrest and injustice in its schools. This injustice has been condoned too long. There is nowhere that we can turn in our schools that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

For too long we have passively accepted Chicago's housing patterns and done nothing about them except to make them worse. We have given our Negro schools generally inferior appropriations and equipment; discriminated in the assignment of teachers, substitutes, principals and administrators; used the method of passing and graduating poorly trained students; declined to reveal achievements tests and empty classrooms in a meaningful way; slowed down proposals for independent evaluation of our schools; established school boundaries and selected school sites in an unrealistic manner; used various devices to "contain" children in racially segregated schools; rejected new methods for integration; starved our human relations program; educated the vast majority of our students, both white and non-white, in racial isolation and won the questionable distinction of being the first employer in the state found guilty of violating a fair employment practices law.

These are certainly days of turmoil, but also of hope. The victims of these injustices, in their long struggle against the conditions we have imposed, have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the worldwide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, in Chicago and elsewhere held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

There are many among us who have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. Some of our most influential citizens have openly condoned the acts of our board of education which perpetrate injustices against minority groups and have been subverted by an illusion that our city can remain segregated — a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim.

Today, however, many Chicago Negro groups and other civil rights organizations are manifesting a new, quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of our city's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built our city, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made Chicago's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

Out of affection for my city and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, I believe the time has come when Chicago's board of education should give sobering thought to our current school crisis which is entwined with so much unprecedented anxiety and upheaval.

As one who has always been committed to the achievement of the goal of justice for all, I believe that the consequent elimination of discrimination and inequities can come about only through education, understanding, and cooperation. This is still the primary and effective way. Where there is a breakdown in this primary approach, resort will inevitably be made to boycotts and other demonstrations.

In the past, this board has deliberately imposed conditions and policies which have served to keep the two races in our school system apart and to discriminate against large segments of the racial minority. In spite of apparent disapproval of these impositions through various demonstrations and boycotts in the past, we have refused to cooperatively seek a solution with those who are victimized by our policies and decisions. We have thus effectively removed from the victims every power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of enduring these conditions in perpetuity. It is to the credit of those affected that they have used the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to help undo the wrongs rather than resort to violence or other forms of insidious retaliation.

Although voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, there is a clear necessity to demonstrate this board's sincerity by immediate, affirmative action. We are not starting from scratch, because some preliminary studies and surveys have been undertaken; but we as a board have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and our time and energies need to be used in this public service now before conditions get worse and the patience of the victims runs out. Under our system of public board responsibility in running our schools, most of the race relations issues in Chicago's educational complex could be settled by action of the board members. Our failure to do so has brought us the present school crisis and because of flagrant disregard of justice and equal treatment of our students and faculty, Chicago's name has become a national scandal.

We need to recognize at once fully and clearly the legitimate demands of those involved in the revolt against our schools. To generalize, these demands ask that there be an end *now* to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination. On this there can be no viable compromise. The demands also seek affirmative measures to integrate Negro students and other minority children into free participation in our city's schools.

We as a board do not serve the taxpayers well when the action we take is minimal; when we treat symptoms and not the problems; when we disregard demonstrations and boycotts leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when we allow tax money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

It is my belief that our school crisis can be settled only by negotiation, cooperation and understanding. I commend the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations [a federation of leading civil rights organizations] for its repeated attempts, in the face of discouragement, to negotiate and resolve this problem fairly.

Basic to the issue of racial segregation, of course, is the need to equalize our educational standards. The problem will not be solved while there exist in many areas of our city wide differentials of educational opportunity. Studies to lift our educational levels are under way and this is commendable. But it will take school board leadership to resolve the basic problem of cooperating and seeking the help of all concerned. The lack of action may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

I believe that this board, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, if it wants, make a new beginning that is meaningful by honestly facing the issue so well dramatized by yesterday's demonstration and arranging immediately a conference with the CCCO leadership for the purpose of resolving the crisis with cooperation and good will. The effort should be undertaken now. [Later, the writer's motion for such a conference was rejected.]

I am optimistic that the board can, with courage and intelligence, reshape its policies and practices as needed to see that our school system serves the free and full development of each student. The means to this end is to be responsive and responsible.

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There is, as some say, no virtue per se in boycotts. Yet, only the self-blinded fail to see the meaning in this protest and the necessity to act upon it.

Those involved in this boycott, I am sure, seek no rights or privileges for Negroes alone. They seek only those that belong to all Chicago citizens. A wise board of education would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

Demonstrations and school boycotts are a direct reaction to our failure and laggardness to meet the issue squarely. We, as members, have it in our power to stop demonstrations any time by satisfying the demands of justice.

The qualities which are exhibited in the protests and boycotts are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power—these are qualities needed in our school system. I hope this board has the wisdom to draw strength from them.

TACOMA FACES SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Fred T. Haley

The author, chairman of the Tacoma, Washington, board of education, is president of the firm of Brown & Haley. This article is based on Mr. Haley's address, November 5, 1963, to the Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers.

In Tacoma last October, after months of study by an eminently numbered sub-committee which recommended a housing ordinance, our City Council passed a measure to exact criminal penalties for those who discriminated on the basis of color, race, religion, in the sale (lease or rental) of housing. Presumably that measure will soon be brought to referendum of the voters—forced to a referendum by the real estate people, the apartment house owners, the home builders. (One wonders if any of them have ever heard of the Black Muslim movement they invite.) Thus, we may face here in Tacoma, in our own dear communtiy, the chilling moment of choice which will finally bring Tacoma's citizenry to its ego-splitting decision. Put to the test, we will say to our Negro fellow citizens: "The Constitution of the United States is a sham. The Emancipation Proclamation was a fraud. You, American-